

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1149th
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 10 October 1962,
at 11.10 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Organization of work	441
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Santos Muñoz (Argentina) . . .	445
Statement by the representative of the United Kingdom	448
Organization of work (<i>continued</i>)	449

President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

Organization of work

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I proceed with the agenda for this morning, I have to make an explanation to the Assembly. Just before I came into the Assembly hall, several representatives asked me for an explanation with regard to tomorrow's agenda, as set out in the Journal for today. I promised to make a statement to the Assembly on that matter and intend to invite the Assembly to deal with it inasmuch as, in view of the explanation that I intend to offer, I do not consider it proper that I should make a decision myself on it.

2. Representatives will observe that on page 2 of today's Journal, a plenary meeting of the General Assembly is scheduled for tomorrow afternoon. But it is followed by a note, "Agenda to be announced". The question put to me was, why, in view of the announcement in the Journal for the previous two days, that on Thursday afternoon the Assembly will take up the elections of members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, these elections had not been put down as the agenda for tomorrow afternoon's meetings?

3. Representatives will recall that at the conclusion of the meeting of the General Assembly last Friday afternoon, in the course of my observations, I said the following:

"The general debate will not be continued on Thursday afternoon because the Assembly will be occupied at that time with elections of members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. I have been approached by a number of delegations with requests to expedite these elections. At present there does not appear to be much chance that the elections can be held sooner than Thursday afternoon. If a possibility should arise, I shall be willing to consider it, in deference to the wishes of so many delegations."
[1144th meeting, para. 196.]

4. There was in fact a possibility that the elections could be held this afternoon, in which case the meeting

of the First Committee, scheduled for this afternoon, would have been postponed to tomorrow afternoon. This was brought to my notice, but I preferred to leave the matter as I had announced on Friday afternoon, and not to shift the elections to an earlier day.

5. Yesterday morning strong representations were made to me, on behalf of a number of delegations, that the elections should be postponed and should not be held tomorrow afternoon. If that had been all, that is to say, if no other factor had entered into the situation, and if the simple question had been whether a date proposed by the Secretariat and approved by me for dealing with this item should be changed to suit the convenience of some delegations which found the proposed date inconvenient, I would, of course, have readily conformed to their wishes. But as the extract from my observations of Friday afternoon, that I have just read out, indicates, I had already been approached by several delegations to expedite the elections even before Thursday. I had therefore to ascertain whether those delegations and other delegations who thought with them would be willing to agree that the elections might be postponed beyond tomorrow afternoon. When I made that effort I was met with a very strong expression of views that the elections should take place, as indicated by me, last Friday afternoon and as announced in the Journal.

6. I made some effort through the remaining part of the day to see whether there could be some agreement, if not on the actual date on which the elections should be held, at least on the procedure which should be adopted to determine what should be done in the circumstances. I have to report with regret that I did not find any point of agreement.

7. I directed therefore that though the Journal should contain an indication that there will be a plenary meeting of the Assembly tomorrow afternoon, the question of the agenda for tomorrow afternoon should be left open, as by the end of the day I had come to the conclusion that in the circumstances that I have submitted to the Assembly it was no longer possible for me to decide what the agenda for tomorrow afternoon's meeting should be, and that that decision, that is to say, whether we should proceed with the elections tomorrow afternoon, or whether, in consultation with the Secretariat I should substitute some other items for tomorrow afternoon, should be taken by the Assembly. Hence the item, as set out in the Journal, which has given rise to some bewilderment on the part of some delegations.

8. It is now, as I have submitted, for the Assembly to take the decision. One suggestion has been made—and may be repeated here because on that suggestion also I said I would take action as may be indicated by the Assembly—namely that I should consult the General Committee in this connexion. As representatives are aware, the General Committee is meeting this afternoon at 2.30 to deal with several other matters. But

even that suggestion is for the consideration of the Assembly. If the objection to the elections being held tomorrow afternoon is maintained, the Assembly must decide upon either the procedure through which this matter may be settled—for instance, as has been suggested, that I should take the sense of the General Committee on this matter and act accordingly—or some other procedure should be adopted, or the Assembly might come to a decision here and now. If the objection is not maintained, I will take that as an indication that everybody is agreed that the agenda for tomorrow afternoon should be as already announced.

9. I submit the matter to the Assembly.

10. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): I must say that the last part of the statement just made by the President concerning the item to be taken up at the plenary meeting on Thursday afternoon surprised me very much and made me rather unhappy. I refer to the question of holding at that meeting elections to the various bodies of the Organization.

11. The African group has made known its opinion that the elections should not be rushed. Under the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the Members which are elected will not take their seats until January of next year. The Assembly has very many subjects to discuss. Furthermore, the African-Asian countries have intimated that they intend to request the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda, concerning the representation of Africa in the Security Council.

12. As is known, the "gentleman's agreement" of 1945 was challenged in 1960. But it seems to us that there are still people who do not want to alter that "gentleman's agreement"; they want us to be bound by it. There seems to be a deliberate attempt to rush matters and to force down our throats an agreement which was made many years ago, when the Assembly was composed of only fifty-one Members. With the composition of the Assembly as it is at present, half of its membership is not represented in the Security Council.

13. Before any elections take place, there should be discussion about abrogating the 1945 agreement and making a new arrangement to accommodate those Members which have so far not been accommodated. The provisions of Article 23 of the Charter must be taken into account. That Article provides that consideration should be given not only to geographical distribution but also to the contribution of the various Members to the maintenance of international peace and security. It seems that some people have forgotten that Article and are simply playing power politics.

14. I do not want to be difficult. We are not asking to have any interference with the permanent seats in the Security Council. What interests us is the non-permanent seats. The "gentleman's agreement" is nothing more than a violation of the Charter, a deliberate and organized attempt to deprive other Members of the right of representation in the Security Council. It constitutes a grave injustice to the newcomers here, and particularly to the countries of Africa. Some of the most important problems facing the Assembly today relate to Africa. How can the Security Council discuss matters affecting the destiny of Africa when Africa is not represented on it? I think that that would be the gravest injustice to the African continent.

15. The African States have made it clear that they want representation. Although I am speaking now as an individual, I am not speaking with the voice merely of

an individual; I am speaking in a representative capacity. I know that what I am saying will be supported by all of the African States. If the Assembly is going to ignore the legitimate request of the African States that there should be a clear and mutual understanding before any elections take place, I do not see the value of our being Members of this Assembly.

16. Hence, I think that it would be only fair and reasonable to defer the elections so that the various elements in this Assembly may have the time for thorough consultations in order to reach an amicable agreement on the matter.

17. If these elections are forced on us, as some people want to do, I am afraid that there will be bad blood. Some of us will be compelled to speak rather frankly—perhaps brutally frankly—on the issue.

18. This is an Organization for peace and mutual understanding; its aim is to create harmony between the races and the various nations. From the very day of our admission, when our Prime Minister spoke here,^{1/} we have maintained our view that the United Nations is designed to create harmony between the peoples of the world, not to be an arena for power politics. A major portion of the earth's surface cannot be deprived of representation. These attempts are not based on justice or even on the provisions of the law that governs this Assembly; rather, they are based on purely arbitrary arrangements made by people who think they are in a position to do so; they are based on an unwillingness to bow to truth, honesty, justice and the dictates of a clear conscience.

19. I am speaking on the basis of the rights which we have under the Charter, which are enshrined in that Charter, and of which we are now being deprived deliberately. I have carefully weighed the words I am using. I hope that what I am saying will prick the conscience of representatives here. If an attempt is made to ram these elections down our throats, I must say that it will be fought every inch of the way, until we feel that justice has been done to our continent and to the African nations which want representation. Until there is a clear understanding on how the non-permanent seats in the Security Council will be distributed, until new arrangements are made for the Economic and Social Council and the other important organs which speak for the United Nations when the Assembly is not in session, until careful consultations on these matters have been held, these elections should not take place. I think that it would be unjust, improper and a clear violation of everything for which we stand here to force these elections on us so soon.

20. We have from now until December. What is the hurry? Who wants the election to take place tomorrow or the next day? If members are going to take their seats from 1 January 1963, what is the reason for rushing the election through now, unless it is a deliberate attempt to deprive the Africans of representation because certain people want to force down the agreement of 1945?

21. For two years, representations have been made, but the great Powers will not agree even to an increase in the number of non-permanent seats. Some want to tie the question of representation of Africa and Asia to the question of the admission of certain Members. There is no provision in the rules of procedure of the

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, (Part I), Plenary Meetings, Vol. I, 893rd meeting.

Assembly which would tie the question of increasing the number of seats in the Councils to the question of membership in this Assembly. That is a purely arbitrary connexion—but we are supposed to listen to that, to come here and just be babes to be fed, and then, after we listen, we are to be heard, and not to be seen when major issues affecting the destiny of Africa are being decided in the Security Council.

22. This is a matter on which we feel very, very strongly. I implore all representatives to think of the future of the United Nations and to think of the various contributions that we have made. I have not gone into the question of the role that my own country has played in the two years since our admission to this Assembly or the ways in which it has enhanced the prestige and honour and integrity of the United Nations, or the role the various African States have been playing, and some of the constructive measures we have adopted in assisting others, consistent with the provisions of Article 23 of the Charter. I have deliberately not said anything about that.

23. I beg the President and I beg all the representatives here to hearken to my voice. It is a representative voice of the African States, asking—we are simply asking—for the deferment of this particular item, so that there may be proper consultation among all Members. But I must warn that, if it is decided to carry through this item on Thursday, it is our intention to fight it all along the line, and I do not think that that would be very pleasant. If we can settle a thing peacefully, amicably, harmoniously, in a friendly and brotherly atmosphere, I do not see any reason why that should not be done. However, if power politics is going to be the order of the day, then I must say that that will be a very bad precedent for this General Assembly. As I have said, we have strong objection to the holding of the elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council on Thursday, when there is still sufficient time for mutually friendly and harmonious consultations in order to make sure that all interests are taken into account and proper arrangements made, so that all opinions may be accommodated in the light of the very grave problems facing the United Nations at this stage.

24. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Before I submit my remarks, I wish to assure the representative of Nigeria that I hate to come to the rostrum to disagree with a proposal submitted by him on an issue which is as important to my delegation as it is to his. I fully appreciate and respect the motives and reasons that prompted him to submit a proposal to postpone the elections to fill the vacancies on the Security Council, but I do not see that such motives should have a bearing on the holding of the elections at their scheduled time. It has always been the practice of this Assembly to hold these elections at an early stage. I do not see much validity in calling for a postponement at this time.

25. The proposal involves certain special circumstances. Yesterday, I received a document announcing the withdrawal of two candidates from the elections, namely, Mauritania and Ethiopia. I also received a letter yesterday which announced the withdrawal of Afghanistan. If a request was to be made for postponement of the elections, I think that in fairness it should have preceded these withdrawals, because then it might have changed the picture.

26. I believe that it is somewhat too late at this stage to submit a proposal for postponement. Candidacies were submitted a long time ago, and delegations have already

taken their stand. My delegation belongs to a regional organization which takes a collective stand on such important matters, and it would therefore be very difficult for my delegation and those linked with it in our regional organization to reconsider their stand.

27. Furthermore, I do not think that the request for postponement will serve the objectives sought by the representative of Nigeria. My delegation is in full agreement with the delegation of Nigeria in calling for a wider distribution of seats and a better representation, and it was one of the major considerations on which my delegation took its stand that we considered the area which the delegation of Nigeria represents. Certainly, every delegation takes its well considered decision on whom to elect and whom to exclude in the light of considerations as to the adequate representation of the various areas. The candidates for the vacancies, as we all know, include two from Africa, namely, Morocco and Nigeria; one from the Middle East, namely Iran; and one from Northern Europe, namely, Norway. Thus, I hope that these elections will bring about results satisfactory to the delegation of Nigeria and, if I may humbly say so, in keeping with the views which my delegation shares with the Nigerian delegation.

28. My delegation will take into full consideration this matter of the wider and better representation of the various areas in the Security Council. We feel, however, that enough time must be taken for a full study of this proposal and of the basis on which such a distribution is to be sought, as well as its extent. Further, this might also touch on the increase in the membership of the Security Council. All these matters and certain other additional considerations will require a longer time for more adequate and thorough examination.

29. I hope, therefore, that the decision of the General Assembly that was announced by the President, and which appears in the Journal, will not be influenced at this time by the proposal submitted by the representative of Nigeria, and that we shall maintain the order for the discussion as it stands at present.

30. Mr. LUQMAN (Mauritania): I have listened to the statement with regard to the election of members of the Security Council and other organs which are due to take place very soon, and there are certain comments I should like to make in that connexion.

31. The people who are asking for this delay are those who have been deprived—perhaps because of the Charter, perhaps because of the "gentleman's agreement" which was reached in 1945-1946. The people who are asking for the delay are the people of Africa, who were not included in the "gentleman's agreement" which distributed the seats of the non-permanent members of the Security Council according to various geographic groupings. Africa is today composed of more than thirty independent States, and I do not need to state from this rostrum the size of the population those countries represent. However, I would submit that the request made here by the representative of Nigeria should be very carefully considered by this General Assembly and that, through conciliatory action and consultation with other Member States, these African States should be allowed to arrive at an acceptable solution paving the way to a proper and just division among the countries of the various seats on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

32. Today the United Nations is not as it was in 1946, and the increase in the membership of the Organization should also affect the membership of the various organs. Therefore, I would ask the General Assembly very sincerely to consider, when voting on this matter, the interests of the African countries which are newly independent and which want also to be represented on the various organs of the United Nations.

33. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): I have listened to the statements of the speakers who have preceded me with the attention they deserve. I should like to make one preliminary remark, so that there may be no misunderstanding about the statement I intend to make. We are all in favour of an increase in the membership of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In earlier statements I myself have pointed out how necessary this was and how it was required by elementary justice. I should not like to make an indictment of the gentleman's agreement this morning, as we have heard others do, but I should like to point out to some people that every State knew of the existence of this gentleman's agreement when it was admitted to the United Nations and every State accepted the obligations of the Charter and the unwritten rules which they entail. I therefore do not see how it is possible at this juncture to speak of the removal or deprivation of certain rights. I think this is a most incorrect and regrettable interpretation which should be dismissed as far as possible if we are to maintain harmony and understanding among ourselves.

34. Having said this, so that there may be no misunderstanding and no disagreement or petty bickering between groups, I should like to inform some colleagues who have spoken before me that we of the Latin American group do not entirely share their views, for the very good reason that the elections have taken nobody by surprise. The date or time of the elections has not been put forward. There is therefore no surprise. The candidatures on which we are to vote have been known for months. Everybody more or less expected that the elections would be held round about this time and we have all received instructions from our Foreign Ministries and all have the necessary powers to take a decision on these candidatures. This is illustrated by the fact that some candidatures were withdrawn when the necessary consultations were held. This shows that there is in fact no surprise. Everybody knew perfectly well that at a certain time the elections would be held, even if those elected would not take office for three or four months. Thus the elections to be held tomorrow are not the result of any manoeuvre. Imagine it as a card game: the cards were on the table. To try to postpone the elections would be to do violence to a kind of jurisprudence which has always been sanctioned by the Assembly; for as long as the United Nations has existed elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have been held round about this time. This really is jurisprudence sanctioned by the General Assembly.

35. Lastly, to postpone the elections would complicate or paralyse the action of the two Councils which are extremely important organs of our Organization, particularly the Security Council. If a postponement was obtained by a procedural manoeuvre or by dilatory procedure (and we know that postponement, after postponement, as they say in civil law, is no good), if by this most subtle tactic of endless postponements the Security Council was deprived of the members who are to be elected, it would be completely paralysed.

I do not see how those who talk so much about peace and who acknowledge the advantages and the achievements of the Security Council—this kind of lightning-conductor which protects us all at certain moments—could adopt an attitude which would delay or paralyse the operation of this most important organ.

36. I do not want to tax the patience of the Assembly and shall conclude by saying that for all these reasons we are not in favour of a postponement and we ask the President to make the necessary arrangements for the elections to be held tomorrow.

37. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): I should like to join my voice in support of the statements made by the representative of Nigeria and those who have spoken in support of a postponement of the elections. The representative of Nigeria referred to an agreement already reached, the so-called "gentleman's agreement", which has been in operation at the United Nations. It is because we have respect for this agreement that a request has been made for a postponement of the elections, so that it will not appear that in sheer contempt of this already existing agreement, a certain position is reached at the elections tomorrow.

38. The position is that certain consultations have taken place, and more are likely to take place, which would show respect for what had occurred before we joined this Assembly. I am not going to go into the fact that this was an agreement to which we were not a party; as we were not a party to this agreement we could hardly be expected to follow it in every detail. We are not saying that because we were not a party to this particular agreement, we do not recognize its existence. What we are saying is, that we must recognize the realities in the United Nations today and because of those realities a new position should be negotiated and reached. To do this, we think it is necessary that a further period should be allowed in which talks could be held and discussions could take place and an agreement arrived at, that would recognize what had happened previously and would also recognize the realities of the present situation. That is why I support the request that this further delay should take place, so that the necessary discussions can be held.

39. Reference has been made to the fact that the work of these important Committees would be paralysed if there is a delay. I do not think that this is the case at all. The delay that is requested is only for one week. It is clear to everyone that a delay of one week would not paralyse either the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council. What we are asking for—and I wish the representatives here would co-operate in this—is that we should have a further period in which consultations could take place, consultations which would not only recognize the reality of the position, which is, that there is a large group here without proper representation in these particular bodies, but also show respect for agreements previously reached and for the need to reach a new accord by means of proper consultations.

40. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Sierra Leone has mentioned a definite period for the postponement of the elections. May I understand that that is the proposal with regard to postponement before I ascertain the wishes of the Assembly? That might help delegations to appraise exactly what is the question that they have to decide; that is to say, in that case the question will be whether the elections should be held on Thursday, 11 October or on Thursday, 18

October. If that is the question, I would very much wish that the question should be decided by agreement rather than by a vote.

1. Unless there is any different expression with regard to the proposal which was adumbrated in the observations that the representative of Sierra Leone has made, I will assume for the purpose of the settlement of this matter that a period of one week is proposed for a postponement of the elections. I so understand it.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I would appeal to those who have opposed the postponement of the elections to agree that we leave the further consideration of this question at this moment and proceed with the general debate. But before the close of the meeting this morning I shall revert to this question, and I suggest that during the interval those who are keenly interested in this question should get together and make an effort to see whether their points of view cannot be brought together. If this can be done, I trust that the Assembly will be willing to accept whatever may be the general view with regard to this question and that the necessity for a vote will be avoided.

3. As I indicated in my opening observations—not in words, but I hope the tenor was clear—I myself have no predilection one way or the other; I am the servant of the Assembly and I am anxious to do what the Assembly desires. But I am also anxious that on procedural questions like this there should not be unnecessary differences and divisions between different sections of the Assembly. So if I hear no objection, I shall delay the further consideration of this matter until we revert to it later.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

44. Mr. SANTOS MUÑOZ (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The Argentine delegation to the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is happy to congratulate you most sincerely, Mr. President, on your election to direct the debates of what is really a world parliament. The fact that you, the honourable representative of Pakistan, have been chosen to occupy this high position is a well-deserved tribute not only to your country, but in particular you, yourself, who have represented it for so long with such brilliance and eminence. All the delegations here assembled expect a great deal from the unruffled calm, the tried experience and the discretion with which you will direct the debates during the coming months.

45. My first words of tribute would be incomplete if I did not add that we expect as much from the intelligence and firmness of our worthy acting Secretary-General, Mr. Thant, as from the guidance of the President of the Assembly: Mr. Thant, the eminent successor of Dag Hammarskjöld, has already shown in his general leadership of the Secretariat and in the thorny problems of the Congo, New Guinea and others that he is eminently fitted to carry out his high functions.

46. We have before us a spectacle the magnificence and impressiveness of which cannot be dimmed by annual repetition. One hundred and nine countries, that is to say nearly all the countries in the world, have sent their representatives here to tell us of their hopes and fears, to say with complete freedom and frankness

what they think about the many complex world problems with which we are faced and to express the wishes of the peoples which the Charter calls "the peoples of the United Nations".

47. Year after year, we see here the representatives of these peoples, which fall politically into the categories of great, medium-sized and small States. Behind these States are the men who form them, and man—the basic component of these political organizations—is the same everywhere. His desire for peace and security should be the main subject of our deliberations.

48. We all live under the pressure of a disturbed present, with the same anxiety about the uncertain future and we all hope that, in an atmosphere of honourable and lasting peace, we shall be able to till the soil, use our tools, work, care for our children and our homes, teach, learn, pray to God and bless Him for His goodness.

49. In order to acquit ourselves of the task laid upon us by the peoples of this vast world, we must banish pride, conceit and intransigence from our debates. The lesson of untold centuries of history is that nothing lasting is achieved by violence, because what is won by the sword is lost by the sword. Violence is a quicksand on which nothing lasting can be built. For that reason, we must be guided by a willingness to compromise, mutual understanding and respect, tolerance, and a realization of our own fallibility.

50. In the past, the geographical and spiritual isolation of nations kept the ravages of war, hunger and disease localized in certain areas. But today we are one world, and together we shall triumph or perish. We must also be guided in our debates by this feeling of a common destiny, ominous or happy, but the same for everyone.

51. Let us now look at some of the main events on the international scene today. There are problems which, alas, are always with us, always present at our deliberations, such as nuclear tests, the arms race, the cold war, poverty, and so forth.

52. Nuclear tests are another way of saying "death-dealing tests". The peoples which are the most advanced in technology are devoting the major portion of their resources to improving the supreme weapon. The peoples which are not competing in this tragic race cannot remain silent, for with every nuclear explosion the thin envelope of air around our earth is being slowly but surely poisoned. Neither can they selfishly isolate themselves from world problems, for they know that we are all in the same boat and if it sinks we all go down with it. We must give voice to our anxiety.

53. Not long ago, a publication with a wide circulation indicated the places which would suffer most from the bombings in an atomic war and those which would suffer less because of their distance from the probable theatres of war and bomb-targets. My country was among the latter. According to this paper, our relative isolation from the traditional fields of battle and from the most highly industrialized centres in the countries which would presumably be enemies in a future atomic war would give us a somewhat privileged position, a certain immunity.

54. When I read this forecast, I did not feel happy or at all secure. The mere idea of an atomic war dismays all Argentinians so much that we cannot selfishly thank

God for our isolation from the more advanced centres. But we have no illusions. If this happened, nobody would be safe. The winds know no frontiers. The poison from the explosions would spread death across all parallels and over all meridians.

55. But while atomic war is still only a possibility, nuclear tests are a reality. We must sound the alarm and demand that these tests should be suspended and that from a given date, which should be as early as possible, countries should enter into a solemn undertaking to ban them for ever. That would be a step forward, as were the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at the sixteenth session, particularly resolution 1648 (XVI), which urges the suspension of test explosions pending the conclusion of internationally binding agreements, and resolution 1649 (XVI) on the urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective international control.

56. My delegation trusts that the General Assembly will not abandon its efforts in this direction. Would that its work might be remembered with gratitude by humanity in the future!

57. We perfectly understand the grave political and strategic risks which are inherent in these proposals for the suspension or banning of nuclear tests. It is for this reason that neither of the two antagonistic groups into which the world is divided wishes to take an initiative which might reduce its military potential.

58. If, however, there is a declaration of a common aim to ban tests and the only fear is that one side will not respect the promises it has made, why not, as a proof of good faith, allow investigation of laboratories and testing sites by other impartial States or by international organizations? No State that really intends to respect the obligation it has assumed has anything to fear from inspection. Is no one in the world worthy of confidence?

59. On the other hand, it is obvious that national detection systems have been so improved that it is very unlikely that any sizable explosion could pass unnoticed, so that inspection would be necessary only in a few rare cases and in limited areas. The Argentine delegation therefore hopes that both sides will find a common ground for agreement on what constitutes proper supervision of the application of any agreement that is reached and that nuclear testing will very soon be stopped and the question removed from our agenda.

60. It is not enough, however, to outlaw nuclear testing. By doing so, we should make it more difficult to perfect certain means of destruction—which are, it is true, the most lethal—but we should not eradicate the danger points. It is these danger points that we must eliminate to prevent them from causing future armed conflicts, and to remove any possibility or pretext for using nuclear or conventional weapons. Peace cannot be won without effort.

61. Peace is not only the absence of war, despite what we were told here recently. Peace should not be a static concept. Peace is our highest aim, the primary purpose of the United Nations, and it requires the common effort of all Member States working in harmony, not only in the political, but in the social, educational and economic fields. Peace is not to be had for the asking, without trouble; we must win it daily by our efforts and our sacrifices.

62. One of the primary objectives of our efforts must be disarmament, since the peoples of the world, in signing the United Nations Charter, undertook to refrain from the threat or use of force as a legitimate means of settling disputes and to use only the many peaceful means provided by the Charter and other international instruments: legal and political means, good offices, mediation, arbitration, etc. All these means are directed towards the same end and all are good when the countries having recourse to them do so honestly, in an effort to reach a just and proper solution, as Argentina has always done, both in seeking solutions in its own international problems and in its conciliatory action in conflicts in which it was not involved.

63. In order to achieve peace, the first thing to do, obviously, is to eliminate the causes of friction between peoples. To do this, we must loyally obey the precepts of the Charter. If we return to the positive principles which it enshrines, we shall have achieved a basis of mutual consideration and understanding. When all States respect the rights of neighbouring States, not only in word but in deed, and faithfully comply with the international obligations they have undertaken, when all States recognize the legal equality of other States, when the principle of non-intervention becomes a reality, we shall have reached the stage of education without which an international legal order and world peace—our supreme objective—cannot be achieved.

64. The principle of non-intervention—which my country has proclaimed, supported and applied as one of the guiding principles of its international policy—must be accompanied by proper respect for every country's right freely to choose its own institutions.

65. While all peoples have the right to choose their own institutions, it is only on condition that they also respect other peoples' right to do the same. No country can demand respect in its right to self-determination if at the same time, by well-organized propaganda, it is attacking other peoples and violating the principle of non-intervention.

66. We respect the right of every State to adopt the system of government it considers best. What we cannot tolerate, however, is that any country should become a source of propaganda against our own democratic institutions or should flood us with subversive propaganda disguised under other names.

67. When something like this happens, nobody can tell a country whose interests, institutions, feelings and beliefs are thus attacked that it must not take the necessary steps in self-defence; for self-defence is the first and most sacred of all rights, so much so that it is often more a duty than a right. Self-defence is legitimate, not only against armed aggression but against political aggression. For that reason, the Latin American countries, which have on various occasions been the victims of political aggression by a State not far from these shores have been obliged to take certain defensive steps and if the aggression continues they will have to take others in the future.

68. Argentina is a nation nurtured in the principles of the Christian religion and of morality, tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights. When these principles are attacked we must defend them, because they are the basis of our Western and Christian heritage, making us fundamentally opposed to communism, which is atheistic and materialistic.

69. We cannot allow disregard for human life and systematic violation of human rights to be tolerated in modern life. When a Government makes these anti-social practices the basis and foundation of its policy, we cannot maintain relations with it.

70. Directly associated with this policy of contempt for human rights is the situation in Berlin, one of the greatest potential danger spots at present, with its degrading wall which has restricted movement between the two sectors of the city, violating the fundamental right of any person to leave any country, including his own, as set forth in article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration. This attack on ideas rooted in civilized nations will scarcely be able to achieve its object of hiding from the eyes of the free world the realities concealed behind the wall.

71. To revert to America, we state clearly that we have no wish to carry on propaganda outside our own frontiers but that we demand that no one should do so within our frontiers. In its international policy our country scrupulously respects the principles of self-determination and non-intervention, but it demands reciprocity. It makes no secret of its preferences. For reasons of ideological background we are on the side of the Western countries; from any standpoint we are a Western and Christian country.

72. It should be made quite clear that the principle of free determination of peoples, as set forth in the United Nations Charter, cannot be applied blindly or in an absolute manner. In some cases there are circumstances which affect the application of the principle and factors which limit its scope.

73. Thus, when the territorial integrity of a State or the particular status of certain territories is in dispute, we should be extremely careful in interpreting and applying the principle. An example of this is the case of the Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands) or any case where territories have been separated by force without the de facto situation having been subsequently confirmed by international agreement, and especially where the original population has been dispersed and small groups of settlers from the occupying Power have established themselves in the area.

74. The principle of free self-determination could not be applied there, because it would place the destiny of these territories in the hands of a limited group of settlers from the Power which has established itself there by force, violating international law. The indiscriminate application of the principle of self-determination in cases like the one I have described would be a pretext for legalizing a transfer of sovereignty under the protective cover of a provision of the Charter.

75. In addition to the dangers to world peace resulting from the violation of political rights and from a mad armaments race, let us examine another: poverty. As long as there are peoples which have scarcely the essentials of life, or not even that, nobody can be surprised that they should listen to false prophets who preach violence as a remedy for their ills and as a key opening the door to a supposed paradise of easy living.

76. To banish poverty—that too is a mission of the United Nations, not through charity but by technical and financial assistance, so as to raise the educational and economic levels of the countries which are not fortunate enough to be classified among the highly developed, and by the liberalization of international

trade. After all, countries cannot eat their cotton, copper or tin, nor can they clothe themselves with the coffee or wheat they cannot sell. Real assistance consists in facilitating production and opening the doors to wider trade, progressively freer and broader.

77. The other day we listened with great interest to the speech by Mr. Spaak [1138th meeting] in defence of the European Common Market. We should like to think that in the long run the European Common Market will not mean a decline in the trade of the market countries with countries outside. The Belgian Foreign Minister, however, completely ignored the countries of Latin America and concerned himself solely with allaying the fears of other areas which are promised associate membership of the European Common Market. It is a good thing that in this way many are able to enjoy its advantages. But what about those who are materially unable to enter the Market? Will it be said of us, in the words of the Bible, that many were called but few were chosen?

78. In the wider orbit of the United Nations, we note with satisfaction that the economic development of the developing countries continues to occupy a preponderant place in the working programme and we trust that suitable measures for the effective implementation of the development plans will be approved. To this end the Argentine delegation will spare no effort in pursuing the goal of raising the level of living of the peoples, not as an end in itself but as a means of securing social peace.

79. International action designed to overcome economic backwardness is obviously entitled to high priority in our debates, so that this grave problem may be solved as soon as possible.

80. My country maintains that in devising formulas for the financing of economic development programmes the utmost importance should be attached to savings created by the efforts of the country concerned, and that public and private capital from outside should not be regarded as substitutes for natural sources of income but as a complementary resource to accelerate the process.

81. Hence the need to increase the volume and value of exports and to put into effect the recommendations and agreements on the liberation of international trade, so that countries may increase their financial capacity and use it to expand their industries, thereby raising their level of living.

82. We trust that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development convened by the Economic and Social Council (resolution 917 (XXXIV)) will establish the necessary conditions to enable effective solutions to be reached, on the basis of realistic and highly technical plans, for the problems which beset international trade in general, particularly those which prevent the expansion of commodity trade, with special emphasis, of course, on the need to stabilize commodity prices.

83. Fortunately we can also point to some international aspects which justify a certain cautious optimism in regard to the future. In the capital of my country an international conference has just been held, the Second Meeting of the Antarctic Treaty, which was characterized by the high spirit of co-operation which prevailed at all its debates and was reflected in the recommendations approved. There was no diversion between East and West, or between North and South.

I am glad to mention this pleasing fact as an example of what can be achieved when the spirit of mutual understanding prevails over individual selfishness.

84. This spirit of co-operation between twelve nations is equally possible between 109. Those who are dominated by fear and pressure proclaim that this is impossible and that the United Nations has failed in its mission of achieving world peace. We do not share that pessimistic opinion and are more inclined to agree with the view expressed by Mr. Stevenson, our eminent colleague, when he pointed out [1125th meeting] that although the United Nations had not succeeded in bringing the great Powers together, it had often succeeded in keeping them apart. That in itself is a great success, even more so if, as he added, it has prepared the way for the peaceful evolution of an international order.

85. Let us begin by admitting in all humility that the United Nations is an imperfect work. It is logical that this should be so. It is a human creation, conceived and brought into being in the midst of great passions and in the face of deep distrust of its possibilities. Imperfect as it is, however, it is the best the world has known so far. On the other hand, its imperfection should not encourage us to get rid of it or to sabotage its action, but on the contrary should prompt us to maintain, support and improve it. In the task of making certain necessary changes in its machinery, integrity in procedure and uprightness in purpose should be the keynote. We must maintain the efficiency of its organs by giving them authority, not taking it away from them. Let us keep to the system of one single authority that will enable us to adopt practical and effective measures in times of trouble. The Argentine delegation is opposed to any proposal which would diminish the powers of the Secretary-General or fetter his action by subjecting it directly or indirectly to the veto of other officials.

86. We consider it right and proper to increase the number of members of United Nations bodies so as to give adequate representation to all areas, a step which the Argentine Republic advocated in the General Assembly some years ago. These bodies were planned when the United Nations had only about fifty Members. It now has 109. It is therefore logical to take this fact into consideration and to increase the composition of these bodies. We do not recommend that the number of their members should be doubled—because an excessive increase might decrease their efficiency—but we are in favour of a modest increase. Other delegations have advocated a similar course and we are happy to be in good company.

87. Those who have been Members since the first session of the General Assembly and those who have joined later should participate alike in this work of improvement.

88. After the very considerable increase in membership in recent years, we now welcome with particular satisfaction the admission of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago, the first American countries to achieve independence after the creation of the United Nations. We also extend a friendly welcome to Rwanda and Burundi, formerly dependent territories but now proud independent States. Finally, we should like to extend a special welcome to the new-born State of Algeria, which joined our ranks only yesterday, to the applause of all representatives. Now that the struggle—in which both sides showed great valour—is over, the wounds are healed and the pact of friendship between the

former metropolitan country and the newly independent solon has been signed and sealed, it is time to forget the past and to face the present.

89. I am sure that all the new Members of the United Nations will be valuable collaborators in the task of peace and concord which is our guiding star. I should like to take this opportunity of pointing out, with every hope that it will always be so, how moderation and prudence have characterized the actions of these new Members, proving once more that wisdom and common sense are not the heritage of the old and powerful nations and that weak young nations can give a magnificent example by their conduct and can serve as a fruitful lesson to all.

90. The work of decolonization, one of the objectives of the United Nations, is thus reaching a gradual but certain end. Nevertheless, it is well to remember that to facilitate the achievement of independence is not everything. New nations that have emerged recently in the free world have found themselves in most cases with a skeleton of administrative and social organization and confronted with the very serious problem of lack of money, technicians and even capable officials, since hand in hand with emancipation there is usually a flight of capital as also of former residents and metropolitan officials, all afraid of the chaos which sometimes accompanies these emancipatory movements.

91. It must in all fairness be acknowledged that in many cases the metropolitan countries have endeavoured to solve these problems and have effectively helped the new States in their first steps, which are often difficult and sometimes turbulent. The fact is that nobody learns to walk without having a few falls. In this way it has been possible to prevent the old ties from being broken altogether and the links of dependence have been replaced by others based on equality in both the political and the financial, economic and cultural spheres.

92. This is where the technical assistance of the United Nations can play an effective part. This work will be necessary for many, many years to come. Let us not deceive ourselves. When the display of fireworks in the independence celebrations is over, the new States have in front of them a very difficult and, above all, very long task in which they will need to rely on the co-operation which the United Nations can give them. My country has not held aloof from that work. From the beginning we have contributed a contingent of our air force in the Congo and an Argentine trade mission has just made a tour of African countries establishing contacts which should result in extensive trade with our country.

93. In conclusion, let me say that my country is seriously concerned with the future of the United Nations, appreciates its efforts and feels at one with its work. The ideals of peace and harmony inscribed in the Charter are also our ideals, as they always have been and always will be.

94. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom has asked to exercise the right of reply and I now call upon him.

95. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): During that part of his thoughtful speech in which he spoke about self-determination, the representative of Argentina referred to his country's claim to the Falkland Islands, or "Islas Malvinas". In this connexion I wish to state that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom

has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, and the Falkland Islands dependencies, and I wish formally to reserve its rights on this question.

The meeting was suspended at 12.45 p.m. and resumed at 1.10 p.m.

Organization of work (continued)

96. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the Assembly for the fact that the suspension of the meeting continued beyond the time which has been announced. However, as Members will appreciate, I was closeted with the principal representatives on both sides interested in the question which the Assembly discussed this morning.

97. Unfortunately, we have come to no decision by agreement. I had very much hoped that the question was now precisely defined and that we could settle it by agreement. Therefore, very reluctantly and absolutely against my own wishes in the matter, I must request the Assembly to express its views.

98. There are two ways of putting the question to the Assembly. It is a matter of indifference—not only to me but, I am sure, to everyone here—how the question is formulated, so long as it is clearly understood. The question could be put in this way: Shall there be elections on this or that date? Those in favour would say "Yes", and those opposed would say "No". As I have said, I take it that Members would have no objections as to the way in which their wishes are ascertained, so long as the question is put clearly.

99. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I am not accustomed to disagreeing with the presiding officer of this Assembly and especially not with you, Mr. President, for whom I have the highest respect and admiration. In this particular case, however, it is the view of my delegation that this question is not one which admits of an expression of the Assembly's position by a vote.

100. The question of a date or a time when the elections to the Security Council are to be held is one which is not reflected in our rules of procedure. The rules do not dictate any date for the elections if the non-permanent members of the Security Council. They merely state that elections shall be held in the course of the regular session of the General Assembly.

101. I admit that an announcement did appear in yesterday's Journal to the effect that elections to the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council would be held tomorrow. Nevertheless, as a result, I believe, of approaches made to the President of the General Assembly, that scheduling of the elections for tomorrow does not appear in today's Journal. To my way of thinking, the reason that it did not appear in today's Journal was that the President, in his wisdom, had seen the need for the postponement, based on the requests for a postponement of the election of non-permanent members to the Security Council. I am not aware that any representative in this hall has raised objections to the President's position sua sponte. The President himself raised the question. Since no objections have been raised, it does not occur to my delegation that there is need for the Assembly to vote on the decision of the presiding officer.

102. If I recall correctly, my delegation, at the 949th meeting of the General Assembly, held on 16 December 1960, brought to the notice of the General Assembly that for several days there had appeared in the

Journal a schedule for elections to the Security Council, but these elections were postponed and postponed again over a considerable period of time. I think the then President pointed out that acting on his own judgement he had postponed the elections and that he would take them up at the proper time.

103. I would therefore repeat that in our view this question is not one which requires a vote and that if, in the President's discretion, the elections can be postponed for the sake of reaching agreement, I would be glad if his position were insisted on and the elections postponed for a period of time which, in the judgement of those who have consulted the President, would be adequate for working out some solution so that the elections will be harmonious.

104. The rules of procedure do provide that non-permanent members shall be elected to the Security Council on the basis of a geographical distribution of seats and on the basis of contributions made to the maintenance of international peace and security. If, by postponing the elections for a few days or for a week or two, some results can be achieved which will give to this body of 109 Members the opportunity to establish equitable geographical representation on the Security Council, we should not insist that the Assembly take a decision on whether these elections should be held immediately or at some future time. I think we should leave it to the President to allow the Assembly to accept his decision in this matter, and that decision has been reflected in the non-appearance in today's Journal of a schedule for elections tomorrow to the Security Council.

105. The PRESIDENT: Before I call upon the next speaker I want to make one matter clear.

106. First, I left the question open, not because I had made up my mind one way or the other but because I had thought, as I explained this morning, that, in view of the insistence of several delegations in support of one proposal or the other, it was no longer for me to decide between them, but that I should ascertain the wishes of the Assembly.

107. Second, there was this morning considerable criticism of what I had done in not putting down the item for tomorrow afternoon. This was conveyed to me, and very strong representations were made that there should be no postponement. The representative of Liberia was probably not aware of that.

108. I have indicated to those with whom I was in consultation during the period when I was absent from the Assembly hall that one way of settling the matter could be—though I am, naturally, not anxious to add to my responsibilities—to leave to me the decision of the question, after having heard the discussion this morning. Some were willing to do that, some were not.

109. If it should be the wish of the Assembly to leave it to me to decide what should be done, although I am reluctant to do so I would nevertheless, in the interests of the dispatch of business, take on myself the responsibility to decide what should be done, on the understanding then that the Assembly would accept what I propose.

110. I call now on the representative of Ethiopia.

111. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I think that by tradition, if not expressly by the rules of procedure of the Assembly, lobbying from the podium of the Assembly is forbidden, and therefore I shall not engage in it.

112. My next point is this. It is most painful for me to intervene, because it is my conviction that this question can be settled without any debate, as has been done in the past. I remember instance after instance when such matters have been raised and have been settled outside. In fact, many times they have been settled by the President himself.

113. The real point I wish to make is this. It would be most regrettable to see the Assembly divided on a question which is really not a question of substance. The parties concerned can continue to discuss the matter this afternoon, if necessary, and come to an agreement. It is now 1.25 p.m., and I do not believe that if we do not decide this question here and now the world will come to an end.

114. That being the case, I earnestly beg the Assembly to let the President and the parties concerned continue their consultations, and we hope that by this evening they will have come to an agreement to have a postponement or to do whatever they wish. The point is that it is most unfair to bring such a question to us this morning at about 10.35, or thereabouts, and to ask us to vote now. I find that most unfair, and therefore I

beg the Members concerned to adjourn now and to leave it to the President and to the parties to work out an acceptable formula which will satisfy all of them. Certainly those who have an interest in this matter will be very happy to help.

115. The PRESIDENT: If the suggestion made by the representative of Ethiopia is generally acceptable I shall adjourn the meeting, unless an objection is raised.

116. I hear no objection. I shall, accordingly, adjourn the meeting with a request to those representatives who did me the honour of coming to my room to discuss the question with me this morning to hold themselves in readiness to come to discuss it with me again. As early as possible after lunch I shall let them know what would be a convenient time.

117. The meeting of the General Committee arranged for 2.30 this afternoon is postponed. Notice will be given when the General Committee is to meet, but it will probably meet tomorrow. The exact hour will be announced.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.